

International Studies 395

United States Foreign Policy in East Asia

Professor John F. Copper
Office: Buckman Hall 120
Telephone: Ext. 3741
Office Hours: 10:45 to 11:45 TTh

Course Description:

This course will assess U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis the countries of East Asia, emphasizing the period after World War II to the present. It will cover America's traditional role in the Far East, recent wars (Korea and Vietnam), problems in current relations with China and Japan, the NICs, ASEAN, the survival of communism in East Asia, trade and security issues, and human rights. The matter of a Pacific Rim bloc will also be covered. Prerequisites: At least one of the following: I.S. 261, 262, 263, 264, 371, 372, or 373.

Texts:

Morton Abramowitz and Stephen Bosworth, *Chasing the Sun: Rethinking East Asian Policy* (New York: Century Foundation, 2006)

Roger Buckley, *The United States in the Asia-Pacific since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Randall Doyle, *America and China: Asia-Pacific Rim Hegemony in the Twenty-First Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007)

Arthur P. Dudden, *American Pacific: From the Old China Trade to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Other reading assignments will be on reserve in Burrow Library or will be handed out in class. Examinations will be based on these readings as well as the assigned texts.

Grading:

Grades will be based on preparation for and participation in class discussions, class presentations (two), mid-term examination, term paper and final examination. The approximate weight of each will be: class discussion 15%, presentations 20%, mid-term examination 20%, term paper 20%, final examination 25%.

Please note each week's assignment and topics and be prepared to discuss those in class.

Week 1

This week we will look at U.S. East Asia policy in the context of overall U.S. foreign policy goals, the role of Asia in American foreign policy historically, assumptions and stereotypes among Americans about Asia, and the evolution of American interests in Asia.

Students should try to develop a grasp of the following questions: How did the U.S. get involved in Asia? What were American national interests at different periods of time? What advantages and disadvantages did the U.S. have in dealing with Asia? What mistakes did the U.S. make?

Assignments: Abramowitz and Bosworth, chapter 1

Buckley, chapter 1

Dudden, chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4

A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), chapter 1

Robert A. Hart, *The Eccentric Tradition: American Diplomacy in the Far East* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), chapter 1 & 2

William Overholt, *Asia, America and the Transformation of Geopolitics* chapter 1 and 2

Robert G. Sutter, *The United States in Asia*, chapter 1

Week 2

This week we will consider America's relations with China historically, up to World War II.

You should give some thought to these questions: What were the early interests of the U.S. in China? When did a security interest develop? Is it fair to say that Washington's "Open Door" policy was in effect long before it was announced? Did it define American Far East policy? Was it the cause for strained relations with Japan leading up World War II? Did Mao's coming to power end it?

Assignments: Dudden, chapter 5

Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States*, chapter 2

A. T. Steele, *The American People and China*, chapters 1, 2 and 3

Week 3

This week we will examine America's relations with Japan, historically and up to WWII. You should give some consideration to the following: Why was the U.S. interested in opening Japan? Was it better that the U.S. did this than another country? Was Japan subsequently America's protégé? Did U.S. and Japanese interests collide when the U.S. acquired the Philippines. Can you see the origins of WWII in the early 1900s? Could the U.S. have avoided war with Japan?

Assignments: Dudden, chapter 6

Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States*, chapters 6, 7 & 8

Edwin O. Reischauer, *The United States and Japan*, chapters 1, 2 and 3

Week 4

This week we will look at the causes and the nature of the conflict between the U.S. and Japan leading up to WWII, the course of the war, U.S. military strategy, and the effects of the war on U.S. Far East policy.

Consider these questions: Did the U.S. force Japan into war? Did the U.S. know that Japan was going to bomb Pearl Harbor? Did the U.S. go to war with Japan because of the Open Door policy? Was it possible to avoid dropping atomic bombs on Japan? Was it in the national interest of the U.S. to ask for an unconditional surrender? Did it make sense to keep Japan weak after the war?

Assignments: Dudden, chapter 7

A. Russell Buchanan, *The United States and World War II*, chapters 2, 3, 10, 12, 13

John Toland, *The Rising Sun*

Week 5

This week we will discuss the “fall” of China or China becoming a communist country and its impact on U.S. East Asia policy. This marked the end of the Open Door policy and much more. It was a turning point in the Cold War, or caused it to escalate--since it markedly increased the size of the communist bloc (more than double in terms of population).

Here are the difficult questions to ponder: Could the U.S. have prevented China from going communist? Might the U.S. have avoided making an enemy of Mao? Did the U.S. expect that relations would not be good between the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union? To what extent did the U.S. fear China? Did what happen in China ruin U.S. East Asia policy and cause Washington reassess its relationship with Japan?

Assignments: Dudden, chapter 8

A Doak Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*, intro and chapter 1

Foster Rhea Dulles, *American Foreign Policy Toward Communist China, 1949-1969*, chapters 1-4.

Barbara Tuchman, “What if Mao had Gone to Washington,” *Foreign Affairs*,

Week 6

This week we will study the Korean War. This was the first U.S. war that ended in stalemate. It redefined and accentuated the Cold War. It left many problems unresolved.

The questions are: Who started the Korean War? Might it have been avoided? Should the U.S. have not fought a limited war? Or was General Macarthur right? Did the war define U.S. relations with China and Japan for a number of years? Did it lead to the Vietnam War?

Assignments: Buckley, chapter 2

Dudden, chapter 9

John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, chapter 4

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 19

Week 7

This week we study the Vietnam War and its impact on U.S. policy in Asia. This is the first war the United States ever lost. Many say it was America's worst war. It had a tremendous impact on America. It changed the view of America in Asia. It redefined U.S. Asia policy.

Some important questions need to be asked and pondered. Who got the U.S. involved in Vietnam? Was it a mistake initially? If not, when? Or was it really a mistake? What were the events surrounding the Gulf of Tonkin Incident? What was the impact of the Tet Offensive? Did Ho Chi Minh calculate correctly the results of Tet? Did China try to help the U.S. disengage from Vietnam? Should the U.S. have tried to hold on in 1975?

Assignments: Buckley, chapter 4

Dudden, chapter 10

Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, chapter 8

Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapters 25, 26 and 27

Week 8

This week we will consider the relationship between the U.S. and China from the end of WWII to the 1980s. This, in the minds of many observers of U.S. foreign policy, China was America's arch-enemy from 1949 to 1969 (or perhaps 1972); after that the U.S. and China became friends (perhaps allies). That lasted for another thirty years until the Tiananmen massacre in 1989.

The questions that need to be addressed are: When did the relationship between Washington and Beijing change? Could the alienation between the U.S. and China have been avoided? Why? What was the Soviet Union's role? U.S. domestic politics? Why did the relationship change? To what extent did it change? Did it change back due to the Tiananmen massacre?

Assignments: Mann, *About Face*, chapters 1-8.

Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since WWII*, chapter 9

John F. Copper, *China Diplomacy: The Washington-Taipei-Beijing Triangle*, chapters 1, 2 and 5.

Week 9

This week we will look at U.S. Japan relations, including political, economic and strategic ties, the reality, some say, that Japan is America's most important ally, but the relationship is in many ways asymmetric.

These questions must be addressed: Are their problems in the post-WWII alliance between the U.S. and Japan? Why? How does China figure into U.S.-Japan relations? Southeast Asia? Security issues? Regionalism? Has Japan taken advantage of the U.S.? Is it now impossible for the U.S. to compete with Japan? If so, is protectionism the inevitable result? Or will the system make an adjustment possible? Will the trade issue poison U.S.-Japan relations?

Assignments: Doyle, chapter 2

Curtis, chapters 1, 3, 4, 5

Henry Kissinger, *Does the United States Need a Foreign Policy*, pp. 118-27

Week 10

This week we will examine post-Tiananmen U.S.-China relations when U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis China changed.

Consider the following: The Tiananmen massacre occurred at the same time as the end of the Cold War. How much weight do you give to each in explaining the downturn in Sino-American relations? Are Sino-American relations bad, or did they simply decline from being "too good" and, therefore, are now normal? How much stock do you give to the view that China is such a big power and soon to be rich country and that U.S. has to treat China differently and this situation has very much troubled America and U.S. policy makers?

Assignments: Abramowitz and Bosworth, chapter 2

Mann, *About Face*, chapter 17 and 18

Week 11

This week we must look at the issue of U.S. relations with Korea, the Southeast Asian nations and Australia and New Zealand. We will also consider the issue of regionalism in East Asia.

What is the status of U.S.-Korea relations? Is Korea the number two flashpoint in the world? Or has the U.S. diffused the potential crisis laden situation there? Is Southeast Asia a U.S. ally? Is it falling into the China sphere? Or is it a swing bloc? Are Australia and New Zealand still America's allies?

Assignments: Abramowitz and Bosworth, chapter 5

Doyle, chapter 3 and 6

Overholt, *Asia, America and the Transformation of Geopolitics*, chap. 5

Sutter, *The United States in Asia*, pp. 101-17

Week 12

This week the subject of concern will be U.S. security and trade interests in East Asia in general. Clearly the U.S. has security concerns other than China and trade interests other than Japan.

Think about the following: The U.S. is drawing down its military forces in East Asia at a time there is a massive arms race going on. Many Asian countries want the U.S. to stay. But the U.S. cannot afford this. But can the U.S., given the fact it has fought wars only in Asia in the past fifty years, afford not to remain? Can it ask Asians to pay? What are the alternatives?

Also note that China is second in causing the large U.S. trade deficit. Taiwan is third. Other Asian nations are also accountable for the U.S. trade problem.

Assignments: Abramowitz and Bosworth, pp. 59-72 and chapter 4

Buckley, chapters 3,5 & 6

Curtis, chapter 7

Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia, *International Security*, Spring 199

Week 13

This week we will examine the “Taiwan issue.” Many pundits call it the non-negotiable issue between the U.S. (the world’s sole superpower) and China (the only rising power). Most specialists on security issues and those concerned with the possibility of war call it the world’s number one flashpoint.

These include, first, the situation in Korea. What has Washington done about the Korean nuclear “situation”? What should it do? What is the significance of the U.S. reassessing its policy toward Taiwan? Is more to come? Will the U.S. become involved in Hong Kong? Was the U.S. correct in withdrawing from the Philippines? Is the U.S. about to change its policy toward Vietnam? Is Washington going to take a different stance toward Kampuchea?

Assignments: Abramowitz and Bosworth, pp. 49-59

John F. Copper, *Playing with Fire: Looming War with China over Taiwan*, chapter 1, 2, 5, 7, 13

Week 14

This week we need to sum up and look at where the U.S. is going in its future relations with the nations of East Asia.

Some attention and thought needs to be given to the new kind of relationship that American will have with East Asian countries as a result of America’s decline and the Pacific Rim’s rise. The main question is: Will the U.S. continue to be involved in the region? Or will it ignore the region? The latter suggests isolationism; is this correct? Could it be that the U.S. will be more involved in East Asia and become more competitive in the world in the process? Or are these two things connected? How will the U.S. adjust to the new East Asia?

Assignments: Abramowitz and Bosworth, chapter 56 and 7

Buckley, chapters 7 & 8

Dudden, chapter 11

Overholt, *Asia, America and the Transformation of Geopolitics*, chapter 8, 9 and 10

Read articles in January issues of *Asian Survey* on U.S. policy in East Asia over the last three years.

